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perialists and jingoists, "there will be war and rumors of war." The most effective way under the circumstances is to remove the cause for possible conflict. The most potent factor in the possible war in the near future is Japan, and her aggression on the Asiatic mainland is the principal cause.

Instead of haggling over the eight and eight program or increase or decrease of a division or two, the conferring powers of America and Europe at Washington on November 11 should prevail upon Japan to evacuate Korea and restore the boundary lines of eastern Asia to their original form, according to the ethnological and historical basis as intended by the Creator of the universe. Without the right to make use of Korea as a military basis, Japan will be obliged to readjust her national program to a more just and peaceful method.

In the same issue is an article by Herbert Adolphus Miller, entitled "The Case of Korea," originally printed in *The Survey*, in which, after telling of a meeting of Koreans in Philadelphia in the spring of 1919, which was concluded with a declaration of independence in Independence Hall, he says:

The spirit shown in this meeting was part and parcel of the events which were taking place in Korea, where a few weeks previously the Independence Movement had been spectacularly launched. That demonstration was remarkable for the thoroughness of its organization and for the success with which Japanese surveillance was evaded. Thirty-three men from all parts of Korea, representing widely different religious and social points of view, met in a restaurant and signed a declaration which concludes with a pledge of three items of agreement:

"1. This work of ours is in behalf of truth, justice, and life, undertaken at the request of our people, in order to make known their desire for liberty. Let no violence be done to any one.

"2. Let those who follow us show every hour with glad-

ness this same spirit.

"3. Let all things be done with singleness of purpose, so that our behavior to the very end may be honorable and upright.

"The 4252d year of the Kingdom of Korea, 3d month, 1st day."

After the signing they telephoned the police what they had done and awaited arrest. Thirty of them are still held in jail without trial. Previous to the signing, copies of the declaration had been distributed throughout the country, so that one hour after the signing, in 322 districts all over Korea it was read to crowds of Koreans, and immediately there was the shouting of "Manse!" and the display of Korean flags, both of which were serious offenses before the Japanese law.

Then began reprisals and repressions that could scarcely be believed were they not so well authenticated. Instead of repeating them, let me refer to the report on Korea of the Federal Council of the Churches; the report to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions; the Congregational Record for July 15, 17, 18, and August 18, 1919, and to the excellent book by Henry Chung, "The Case of Korea." To be sure, all that was done by the Japanese was merely the logical consequence of previous methods of control, and of the political philosophy which justifies coercive control of another people, whether ostensibly for their own good or for the imperialistic aggrandizement of the ruling power.

In the same article Mr. Miller says:

America's interest in Korea is twofold: First, because of the treaty which was made in 1882, shortly after "The Hermit Kingdom," as Korea was called, was opened to the outside world; second, because of the profound influence of American missionaries in the island. The treaty with the United States was the first one negotiated by the little country, and was followed by similar ones with the other important powers. In this treaty it was provided:

"If other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."

Unfortunately, the method by which Japan had secured the "Protective Treaty" was not known until after President Roosevelt had accepted it as technically valid, so the "good offices" of the United States have never yet been rendered.

The first missionaries went to Korea in 1884, and some of them are still in active service. Nowhere else have Christian missions put such a stamp on a whole people; and, while even now the missionaries take no part in the political movements, Protestant Christianity is almost as symbolic of the Independence Movement as Roman Catholicism has been of the Irish and Polish movements. The boys and girls of the mission schools have seen that the teachings of Christianity are really teachings of democracy, and have acted accordingly. These missionaries have been the one broad contact the Koreans have had with western civilization, and America looms large on their horizon.

The emergence of Korea from the old to the new has been as remarkable as was that of Japan, though the time has been shorter and the course somewhat different. The dominant Christian influence has made it less materialistic, and it is less outwardly efficient, but no higher moral tone than the following from their Declaration of Independence can be found. It recurs frequently in the document.

"A new era awakes before our eyes, the old world of force is gone, and the new world of righteousness and truth is here. Out of the experience and travail of the old world arises this light on the affairs of life."

Mr. Miller adds that the Koreans have established a *de facto* government, the status of which is as valid as that of the Irish Republic, or of the Czecho-Slovak Republic just before the close of the war. Dr. Syngman Rhee, who has a doctorate from Princeton in political science, is President.

PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH GERMANY*

By the time this issue of the Advocate of Peace is in the hands of its readers, possibly, President Harding will have issued a proclamation of peace with Germany and the other Central Powers, in pursuance of the ratification of the Treaty of Berlin by the Senate and of the treaties with the other powers with which this country was at war. That will make the end of the unprecedentedly protracted discussion in this country as to the terms of a peace treaty with an enemy.

The Treaty of Berlin was opposed more vigorously in the Senate than had been expected, either by the Administration or by the public, and for a few days the President's friends in the Senate manifested some alarm over the possibility of rejection.

On the one hand was a little group of Republicans, led by Senator Borah, who held that the treaty was but a cross-section of the Versailles pact, and that in it inhered the evils they had seen in that document. They maintained that by ratifying the Treaty of Berlin America would be drawn into the entanglements of Europe and committed to the support of the evil policies they all along have claimed were instituted by the Treaty of Versailles.

On the other hand was a body of Democrats, which soon became aggressive and won the support of some Democratic

^{*}Ratifications of the Peace Treaty were exchanged at Berlin, November 11, 1921. President Harding proclaimed the peace November 14. Ellis Loring Dressel was appointed Chargé d'Affairs to Germany November 16.

Senators who had been for the Berlin Treaty. This element attacked the new treaty on the ground that it took all the benefits of the Treaty of Versailles, but shirked its responsibilities; that it was, in effect, a desertion of the late allies of this country. Close friends in the Senate of former President Wilson were active in this element, and it was persistently reported that Mr. Wilson was guiding them.

When the vote was taken, however, it was found that the opposition had crumpled. Senator Hitchcock, who led the fight for the Treaty of Versailles, joined Senator Underwood, the Democratic leader, in supporting the Treaty. Mr. Hitchcock argued that, whatever objections he might have to the treaty, he could not assume the responsibility of prolonging the chaotic relations between the United States and Germany.

The official record of the vote on the Treaty of Berlin follows:

Yeas-66.

Ashurst Ball Brandegee Broussard Bursum Calder Cameron Capper Colt Cummins Curtis Dial Dillingham du Pont Edge Elkins	Fernald Fletcher France Frelinghuysen Gerry Gooding Hale Harreld Johnson Kellogg Kendrick Kenyon Keyes Lenroot Lodge McCormick	McKinley McLean McNary Moses Myers Nelson New Newberry Nicholson Norbeck Oddie Owen Page Penrose Poindexter Pomerene	Shields Shortridge Smoot Spencer Sterling Sutherland Townsend Trammell Underwood Wadsworth Walsh, Mass. Warren Watson, Ind. Weller Willis
Edge Elkins Ernst	McCormick McCumber	Poindexter Pomerene Ransdell	Willis

Nays-20.

Borah	Harrison	McKellar	Simmons
Caraway	Heflin	Overman	Stanley
Culberson	Jones, N. Mex.	Pittman	Walsh, Mont.
Glass	King	Reed	Watson, Ga.
Harris	La Follette	Sheppard	Williams

Not Voting—9

Hitchcock	Norris	Robinson	Stanfield
Jones, Wash.	Phipps	Smith	Swanson

The treaty, as submitted to the Senate, follows:

Considering that the United States, acting in conjunction with its cobelligerents, entered into an armistice with Germany on November 11, 1918, in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded:

Considering that the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, and came into force according to the terms of its Article 440, but has not been ratified by the United States:

Considering that the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution approved by the President July 2, 1921, which reads in part as follows:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.

"Sec. 2. That in making this declaration, and as a part of it, there are expressly reserved to the United States of America and its nationals, any and all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, to which it or they have become entitled

under the terms of the armistice signed November 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof, or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States of America by reason of its participation in the war or to which its nationals have thereby become rightfully entitled; or which, under the Treaty of Versailles, have been stipulated for its or their benefit; or to which it is entitled as one of the principal allied and associated powers; or to which it is entitled by virtue of any act or acts of Congress, or otherwise.

"Sec. 5. All property of the Imperial German Government or its successor or successors and of all German nationals which was, on April 6, 1917, or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America, or of any of its officers, agents or employes, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, and all property of the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or its successor or successors, and of all Austro-Hungarian nationals which was on December 7, 1917, or has since that date come into the possession or under control of or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or any of its officers, agents or employes from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States of America and no disposition thereof made, except as shall have been heretofore or specifically hereafter shall be provided by law, until such time as the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government or their successor or successors shall have respectively made suitable provision for the satisfaction of all claims against said governments, respectively, of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States of America and who have suffered, through the acts of the Imperial German Government or its agents, or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government or its agents, since July 31, 1914, loss, damage or injury to their persons or property, directly or indirectly, whether through the ownership of shares of stock in German, Austro-Hungarian, American or other corporations, or in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war, or otherwise, and also shall have granted to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States of America most-favored-nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce and industrial property rights, and until the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have respectively confirmed to the United States of America all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by the United States of America during the war, whether in respect to the property of the Imperial German Government or German nationals or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government or Austro-Hungarian nationals, and shall have waived any and all pecuniary claims against the United States of America.'

Being desirous of restoring the friendly relations existing between the two nations prior to the outbreak of war, have for that purpose appointed their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America, Ellis Loring Dresel, Commissioner of the United States of America to Germany, and

The President of the German Empire, Dr. Friedrich Rosen, Minister for Foreign Affairs,

Who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE ONE

Germany undertakes to accord to the United States, and the United States shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages specified in the aforesaid joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1921, including all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the Treaty of Versailles, which the United States shall fully enjoy notwithstanding the fact that such treaty has not been ratified by the United States.

ARTICLE TWO

With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Germany under the foregoing article with respect to certain provisions in the Treaty of Versailles, it is understood and agreed between the high contracting parties:

- (1) That the rights and advantages stipulated in that treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in section one, part four, and parts five, six, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, fourteen and fifteen. The United States, in availing itself of the rights and advantages stipulated in the provisions of that treaty mentioned in this paragraph, will do so in a manner consistent with the rights accorded to Germany under such provisions.
- (2) That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of part one of that treaty, nor by any provisions of that treaty including those mentioned in paragraph one of this article, which relate to the Covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations, or by the Council or by the Assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.
- (3) That the United States assumes no obligations under or with respect to the provisions of part two, part three, sections two to eight inclusive of part four and part thirteen of that treaty.
- (4) That, while the United States is privileged to participate in the Reparations Commission, according to the terms of part eight of that treaty, and in any other commission established under the treaty or under any agreement supplemental thereto, the United States is not bound to participate in any such commission unless it shall elect to do so.
- (5) That the periods of time to which reference is made in Article 440 of the Treaty of Versailles shall run with respect to any act or election on the part of the United States from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE THREE

The present treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional form of the high contracting parties and shall take effect immediately on the exchange of ratifications, which shall take place as soon as possible at Berlin.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate in Berlin, this 25th day of August, 1921.

Below is a brief explanation of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, referred to specifically in the Treaty of Berlin, and which must be read into the latter document:

Section 1 of Part IV is that part of the Treaty of Versailles under which Germany renounces in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her over-sea possessions. This section includes various provisions relating to specific adjustments between Germany and other powers. The interest of the United States in this section is illustrated by the controversy over Yap.

Part V of the Versailles Treaty deals with the limitation of armament in Germany, going into exact details as to what shall be done with every class of armament, and also giving directions as to what armament shall be turned over to the Allies.

Part VI deals with the repatriation of prisoners of war and the return of civilians, and also with the investigations to be made in locating and properly marking the graves of men who fell and were buried on enemy soil.

Part VIII deals with reparations. In the opening paragraph of this part Germany accepts the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated governments and their nationals "have been subjected as a consequence of the war

imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies."

Part IX is the so-called financial clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. These impose upon Germany, as a first charge upon all her assets and revenues, and all those of her constituent States, the cost of reparation and all other costs arising under the treaty and the agreements or arrangements in connection with the treaty or in connection with the armistice. These clauses contain such specific provisions as that Germany shall not permit the export or disposal of gold until May 1, 1921, without the consent of the Reparations Commission; that Germany shall pay the costs of the armies of occupation; that she shall turn over various materials to the Allied and Associated Powers, etc.

Part X is the economic clauses dealing with commercial relations between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers. Among other things, these clauses protect the exports into Germany from the Allied and Associated Powers against special and excessive tariff charges, etc. Likewise, goods imported from Germany by Allied and Associated Powers shall not be subjected by Germany to any special or excess duties or charges, etc.

Part XI deals with aërial navigation. It gives to the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers full liberty of passage and landing in the territory and territorial waters of Germany, with the specific rights set forth.

Part XII deals with the use of ports, waterways, and railways. In it Germany grants freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails coming from or going to any of the Allied and Associated Powers.

Part XIV deals with guarantees for the execution of the treaty by Germany. In this part is the provision that German territory to the west of the Rhine, with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years. This part also provides for the evacuation by the German troops of the Baltic Provinces and Lithuania.

Part XV provides that Germany shall recognize the full force of the treaties and the conventions which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the nations that fought on the side of Germany during the war, and shall recognize whatever dispositions may be made of the former Austro-Hungarian territories, Bulgaria and Turkey.

The reservations to the treaty, adopted by the Senate without opposition from Administration spokesmen, are embodied in the following resolution of ratification:

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty between the United States and Germany, signed at Berlin August 25, 1921, to restore the friendly relations existing between the two nations prior to the outbreak of war, subject to the understanding, which is hereby made a part of this resolution of ratification, that the United States shall not be represented or participate in any body, agency, or commission, nor shall any person represent the United States as a member of any body, agency, or commission in which the United States is authorized to participate by this treaty, unless and until an act of the Congress of the United States shall provide for such representation or participation; and subject to the further understanding, which is hereby made a part of this resolution of ratification, that the rights and advantages which the United States is entitled to have and enjoy under this treaty embrace the rights and advantages of nationals of the United States specified in the joint resolution or in the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, to which this treaty refers.